

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02171 221741Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 221625Z MAR 77  
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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2171

EXDIS

PASS WHITE HOUSE

PASS LABOR FOR SECRETARY MARSHALL, SAMUEL, QUACKENBUSH  
AND AVERY

IO FOR ASST SECY MAYNES, TOUSSAINT AND PALMER

EUR FOR ASST SECY HARTMANN

S/IL FOR DALE GOOD

PASS COMMERCE FOR UNDERSECRETARY AND UPTON

MEXICO AND CARACAS FOR HOROWITZ ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ILO, ELAB  
SUBJ: UK VERSION OF CALLAGHAN CONVERSATIONS WITH  
PRESIDENT CARTER AND GEORGE MEANY

REF: GENEVA 1647  
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1. SUMMARY: UK MISSION HERE HAS RECEIVED A CABLE  
REPORTING THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND GEORGE MEANY LEFT  
PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE  
U.S. WOULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM ILO. UK MISSION EXPECTS  
CALLAGHAN TO BRIEF BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS (TUC)  
PRESIDENT CYRIL PLANT ALONG THESE LINES AND ALSO EXPECTS

PLANT TO REPEAT THE STORY IN LONDON AND IN GENEVA. RUMORS CIRCULATING IN WASHINGTON WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO UK CABLE HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO ILO DIRECTOR GENERAL BLANCHARD, BUT THESE RUMORS ARE NOT, AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL, WIDE-SPREAD IN GENEVA. UK MISSION ASSURED US THEY HAVE TOLD NO ONE IN GENEVA EXCEPT US ABOUT THEIR CABLE. MISSION RECOMMENDATIONS ARE IN PARA SIX BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO UK MISOFF, THEY HAVE RECEIVED REPORT THAT BOTH GEORGE MEANY AND PRESIDENT CARTER LEFT CALLAGHAN WITH THE IMPRESSION THE U.S. WOULD NOT LEAVE ILO. AT WHITE HOUSE DINNER, CALLAGHAN ASKED MEANY TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO WITHDRAW THE U.S. NOTICE OF INTENT. MEANY SAID THE NOTICE WAS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO GET SATISFACTION OF U.S. AND AFL-CIO REQUIREMENTS IN ILO. CALLAGHAN REPLIED THAT THE NOTICE WAS NOW SELF-DEFEATING AND INDICATED (HIS EXACT WORDS WERE NOT REPORTED IN THE UK CABLE) HE BELIEVED THE U.S. SHOULD STAY IN ILO. MEANY AGREED TO CALLAGHAN'S STATEMENT. CALLAGHAN THEN ASKED PRESIDENT CARTER WHETHER HE AGREED WITH MEANY AND THE PRESIDENT REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY (THE CABLE SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS APPARENTLY NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CONVERSATION). THE FOLLOWING MORNING PRESIDENT CARTER REFERRED TO THE ILO AND GAVE CALLAGHAN "THE IMPRESSION THE U.S. WOULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM ILO".

3. UK MISOFF REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT THEY HAD TOLD NO ONE EXCEPT US ABOUT THE CABLE; HE WAS OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT THE WASHINGTON RUMORS MIGHT BE TRACED TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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UK. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRECISE QUESTION OR STATEMENT TO MEANY WAS NOT CLEAR IN THE CABLE, THAT MEANY'S REPLY COULD HAVE BEEN IN JEST OR "UNGUARDED", AND THAT THE CABLE ALSO DID NOT EXPLAIN WHY CALLAGHAN HAD RECEIVED THE "IMPRESSION" THAT THE U.S. WOULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM ILO.

4. WE SAID WE UNDERSTOOD THAT ASST SECY HARTMANN HAD CALLED IN THE UK AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON TO SET THE RECORD AND THE RUMORS STRAIGHT, AND THAT FOR THE SAME REASONS THE CABINET LEVEL COMMITTEE DECIDED TO REITERATE THE U.S. STATEMENT ON ILO OF FEBRUARY 16. WE SAID WE BELIEVED CALLAGHAN WAS AT LEAST HALF JOKING AND THAT THE REPLIES FROM THE PRESIDENT AND MEANY WERE PROBABLY IN THE SAME VEIN AND CERTAINLY OUT OF CHARACTER FOR MEANY. IT WAS INCONCEIVABLE TO US THAT ANYONE ON THE U.S. SIDE COULD DECIDE BEFORE THE JUNE CONFERENCE THAT THE U.S. SHOULD STAY IN OR LEAVE ILO. IF THE ARABS RAMMED THROUGH A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ISRAEL OR CALLING FOR ITS EX-

PULSION, IT WAS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT MEANY WOULD ARGUE THAT THE U.S. SHOULD STAY IN ILO.

5. COMMENT: IN RECENT MONTHS, THE UK HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE U.S. MIGHT LEAVE ILO, EVEN IF THE INDUSTRIALIZED MEMBER COUNTRIES FULLY SUPPORT US IN JUNE, AND THAT THESE COUNTRIES WOULD THEN FACE THE WRATH OF THE ARABS AND THE THIRD WORLD. THE REPORT OF CALLAGHAN'S CONVERSATIONS IN WASHINGTON HAS GIVEN THEM THE HINT THEY HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR. HOWEVER, MANY ILO MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE THIRD WORLD, WOULD PROBABLY NOT TAKE U.S. OBJECTIVES IN ILO SERIOUSLY OR VOTE WITH US AT THE JUNE CONVERENCE IF THEY HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THE U.S. HAD ALREADY DECIDED TO STAY IN ILO. THIS, OF COURSE, IS THE DANGER OF THE UK VERSION OF THE CALLAGHAN/CARTER/MEANY CONVERSATIONS.

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6. ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT PRIVY TO THE DISCUSSIONS WITH CALLAGHAN, WE ASSUME THAT NEITHER THE PRESIDENT NOR GEORGE MEANY INTENDED TO MODIFY THE FEBRUARY 16 JOINT STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIES OF STATE, LABOR AND COMMERCE. IF THIS ASSUMPTION IS CORRECT, THE WHITE HOUSE MAY WISH TO TAKE THE MATTER UP WITH CALLAGHAN, PREFERABLY BEFORE CALLAGHAN BRIEFS CYRIL PLANT AND THE STORY REACHES THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT MEANY BE GIVEN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE UK CABLE; HE MAY WISH TO TAKE IT UP DIRECTLY WITH PLANT.SORENSEN

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